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ABSTRACT

An analysis of pronouns in Zapotec languages looks at their behavior across the language family, noting where the languages are alike or different. Seven regional Zapotec variations are used for illustration, including: Isthmus; Yatzachi; Yalalag; Texmelucan; Atepec; Guelavia; and Xanaguia. A major conclusion is that the traditional division of pronouns used in descriptions of Zapotec is inadequate. Instead, they must be considered in terms of three classes, only two of which may be found in a given language: prosodically independent, syntactically independent, and syntactically dependent. Pronoun inventories for the seven Zapotec variations following this classification system are appended, and a 13-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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ZAPOTEC PRONOUN CLASSIFICATION

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1 Introduction
2 Prosodically independent pronouns
  2.1 Isolation
  2.2 Preverbal position
  2.3 Object of Spanish preposition
3 Syntactically independent pronouns
4 Syntactically dependent pronouns
  4.1 Markedness
  4.2 Adjacency to projection of head
Appendix: Pronoun inventories
Notes
References

1 Introduction

Zapotec languages have sometimes been described as having two sets of (nonreflexive) personal pronouns: bound and free (Butler 1976), clitic and free (Jones and Church 1985, Marlett 1987), dependent and independent (Pickett 1960, Bartholomew 1983), inseparable and separable (Butler 1980), suffixes and pronouns (Briggs 1961), particles and pronouns (Pickett et al. 1965). The variety of terminology used indicates that the syntax of Zapotec pronouns requires further study. The goal of this article is to clarify the behavior of these pronouns across the Zapotec language family (using a subset of languages to illustrate), noting where these languages are alike or different. A major conclusion of this study is that the traditional division of pronouns used in descriptions of Zapotec is inadequate. Instead, we must think in terms of three classes of pronouns, although it may be that only two of these are attested in a given language. For example, Yatzachi and Yalalag Zapotec lack one class entirely, while Xanaguía Zapotec lacks another class; Isthmus Zapotec has all three classes, but one class has only one member. I describe these pronoun classes by making reference to two separate parameters: *prosodic independence* and *syntactic independence*. Syntactically independent pronouns may be prosodically dependent or independent; prosodically independent pronouns are all syntactically independent. Pronouns which are classified as *prosodically independent* are written below with an acute accent. Pronouns which are *syntactically dependent* are written with an equal sign before them. As a further means of indicating the two parameters, I gloss syntactically dependent pronouns with abbreviations rather than with word glosses.[1] The tables of pronouns given in the appendix follow the classificatory system used in this article.

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The account given here of the distribution of pronouns relies on the proper identification of the head of the phrase, namely P as head of PP, N as head of NP, and V as head of the clause. Zapotec languages are head-initial, and for the purposes of the discussion in sect. 3.2, are *verb initial* at the level at which subject fronting takes place.

The pronouns are discussed in the (essentially arbitrary) order of prosodically independent pronouns (sect. 2), syntactically independent pronouns (sect. 3), and then syntactically dependent pronouns.

2 Prosodically independent pronouns

A pronoun in Zapotec is classified in this article as either prosodically dependent or prosodically independent. A pronoun is considered prosodically independent if it occurs in one (or more) of three positions: (a) in isolation, as a simple utterance, such as in answer to a question, (b) preverbally, with nothing to lean on phonologically, (c) as object of a Spanish preposition.

To my knowledge, all third person pronouns in Zapotec are prosodically *dependent*, although I have no account for this apparently significant generalization. Therefore, third person pronouns will be contrasted with non-third person pronouns in the following sections.

Grammatical counterparts of starred sentences in this section can be formed by using a prosodically independent pronoun instead (if one exists), or by using the prosodically dependent pronoun in a complex construction which usually consists of a word cognate with Isthmus Zapotec la' (no obvious concrete meaning) followed by the pronoun.[2]

2.1 Isolation

The pronouns listed as +P (prosodically independent) in the appendix can be used in isolation or with the question particle. (In Xanaguía Zapotec, a similar context is with a deictic following the pronoun.) These pronouns receive their own stress, they do not interact phonologically with adjacent words, and do not lean phonologically on adjacent words.

(1a) (Ist) lí' ya? (Pickett 1960:87)
you Quest
'(and) you?'

(1b) (Xng) tó ga
you there
'it is you (pl.) who are there'

(1c) (Tex) yǎ n
I Quest
'(are you referring to) me?'

(1d) (Ate) ɕi lú?
Quest you
'you?'

Pronouns not listed as prosodically independent in the appendix cannot be used in isolation or before the question particle, as shown in (2).

(2a) (Ist) * ni
it
'it'

(2b) (Tex) * yu
he
'he'

(2c) (Ytz) * =bo?
3f
's/he'

(2d) (Ist) * =be ya?
3h Quest
'and her/him?'

(2e) (Ist) * =lu ya?
2s Quest
'(and) you?'

(2f) (Xng) * šo ga
s/he there
'it is s/he (who is there)'

(2g) (Tex) * mi n
he Quest
'(are you referring to) him?'

(2h) (Tex) * ns n
us Quest
'(are you referring to) us?'

(2i) (Ate) * ɕi e
Quest s/he
's/he?'

2.2 Preverbal position

Prosodically independent pronouns may occur in preverbal position without a word to lean on phonologically.[3]

(3a) (Ist) lí' bi'ya =lu ni
you saw 2s it
'you saw it'

(3b) (Tex) yã zañ tir bdug^{y}Ĩ? lo ñ
I many times asked/1s face her
'I have asked her many times.'

(3c) (Ytz) náda? g^{w}xoa =a? yet n?
I patted 1s tortilla that
'I made the tortilla'

(3d) (Ist) ná' nga bi't =e? be'nda ke
I that.one killed 1s snake that
'I am the one who killed that snake'
(Pickett 1960:66)

(3e) (Xng) ná' ǵia
I will.go
'I will go'

(3f) (Xng) tó ǵia
you will.go
'you (pl.) will go'

(3g) (Glv) ná' ča' bak
I go/1s Tlacolula
'I am going to Tlacolula'

Pronouns which are not +P cannot occur preverbally.[4]

(4a) (Ist) * ni biwi'ni (ni)
it got.small it
'it got smaller'

(4b) (Ytz) * =bo? g^{w}dao (=bo?) nada?
3f ate 3f me
's/he bit me'

(4c) (Ist) * =lu bi'ya (=lu) ni
2s saw 2s it
'you saw it'

(4d) (Tex) * yu rk^{y}i'ñ yu nañ yu? wedz
he serves he inside house church
'he serves in the church'

(4e) (Xng) * šo tsia
s/he will.go
's/he will go'

(4f) (Xng) * o giab lo lyu
it will.fall face floor
'it will fall on the floor'

(4g) (Glv) * bɨ bta'z (bɨ) ná'
s/he hit s/he me
's/he hit me'

(4h) (Tex) * na g^{y}a (n)
we will.go we
'we will go'

(4i) (Xng) * šo gia
s/he will.go
's/he will go'

(4j) (Ate) * bi gia
s/he will.go
's/he will go'

2.3 Object of Spanish preposition

Zapotec languages do not have many prepositions *per se*, but make good use of body part nouns in a functionally similar way (see MacLaury 1989). Prepositions borrowed from Spanish, unlike native words, are followed by prosodically independent pronouns, never by prosodically dependent pronouns.

(5a) (Ytz) par náda2 (Butler 1980:249)
for me
'for me'

(5b) (Ytz) g^{w}nn =e2 fabor náda2 (Butler 1980:248)
spoke 3r for me
's/he spoke in my favor'

(5c) (Tex) par yã́
for me
'with respect to me'

(5d) (Ist) despwes de ná' (Pickett 1960:47)
after of me
'after me'

(5e) (Glv) par liǘ'
for you
'for you'

(6a) (Ytz) * par =a2
for 1s
'for me'

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(6b) (Ytz) * g^{w}nn =e? fabor =a?
spoke 3r for 1s
's/he spoke in my favor'

(6c) (Tex) * par na
for us
'with respect to us (incl.)'

(6d) (Ist) * despwes de =be
after of 3h
'after him/her'

(6e) (Ist) * despwes de ni
after of it
'after it'

(6f) (Glv) * par bɨ
for him/her
'for him/her'

3 Syntactically independent pronouns

The second major parameter along which I classify Zapotec pronouns is that of syntactic independence. Any pronoun which is prosodically independent is also syntactically independent, but the opposite is not necessarily true since some syntactically independent pronouns are not prosodically independent. The relevant additional test for syntactic independence depends on whether the pronoun may occur in object of verb position *following a nonpronominal subject*. It is in this position that the pronoun is not adjacent to something which might be considered the head (or a projection of the head) of the construction.[5]

(7a) (Ist) bi?ya ale lɨ?
saw Alex you
'Alex saw you'

(7b) (Ist) bi?ya ale ni
saw Alex it
'Alex saw it'

(7c) (Ytz) g^{w}dao beko? na?nə? náda?
ate dog that me
'that dog bit me'

(7d) (Ytz) g^{w}diš^{w} delin náda? ši pes
payed Adelina me ten peso
'Adelina paid me ten pesos'
(cf. Butler 1980:173)

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(7e) (Xng) usa'n xul lú'y / a'
left Julia you you
'Julia left you'

(7f) (Xng) usá'n xul n
left Julia us
'Julia left us (inc.)'

(7g) (Xng) usá'n xul o
left Julia it
'Julia left it'

(7h) (Tex) kut li n
will.kill María us
'María will kill us'

(7i) (Tex) kut li ñ
will.kill María her
'María will kill her'

(7j) (Ate) ra ka enne?yu bi (inté?, e, ã)
says Pl man him/her (me, him/her. him/her)
'the men said to him ...'
(Bartholomew 1983:433, and Hernández, p.c.)

(7k) (Ate) be? eõa nã (Bartholomew 1983:438)
struck lightning it
'lightning struck it'

(7l) (Glv) rure guna xwan ɨ
there saw John it
'John saw it (animal) there'

(7m) (Glv) xwan guna ž
John saw him
'John saw him'

(7n) (Xng) xul usa'n ∅
Julia left 3h
'Julia left him/her'

Syntactically dependent pronouns cannot occur following a nonpronominal subject.

(8a) (Ytz) * bseb bia n? =bo?
frightened animal that 3f
'the animal frightened him/her'

(8b) (Ist) * bi'ya ale =lu
saw Alex 2s
'Alex saw you'

(8c) (Yts) * g^{w}dao beko? na'nə? =a?
ate dog that 1s
'that dog bit me'

(8d) (Ylg) * baya? bezen =en
sewed fox 3i
'the fox resewed it'

(8e) (Ist) * bi'ya xwan =be
saw John 3h
'John saw him/her'

(8f) (Tex) * kut li =r
will.kill María 2s
'Mary will kill you'

(8g) (Glv) * xwan guna =t
John saw 2p
'John saw you (pl.)'

In some Zapotec languages, a syntactically independent pronoun (whether prosodically independent or not) must be used after the question pronoun 'who', while in others this context requires a prosodically independent pronoun. In the former type of language, which includes Atepec and Xanaguía, these facts provide evidence for having syntactic independence be a parameter which includes pronouns that may or may not be prosodically independent.

(9a) (Xng) ču ?ll
who you
'who are you?'

(9b) (Ate) nuni inté'
who I
'who am I?'

(9c) (Ate) nuni e (bi)
who s/he s/he
'who is s/he?'

(9d) (Tex) k^{y}u rú
who you
'who are you?'

(9e) (Glv) tu liú'
who you
'who are you?'

(9f) (Ist) tu lí' (Pickett 1960:86)
who you
'who are you?' or 'who's there?'

(10a) (Ate) * nuni =a?
who 1s
'who am I?'

(10b) (Glv) * tu b
who s/he
'who is s/he?'

(10c) (Tex) * k^{y}u yu
who he
'who is he?'

4 Syntactically dependent pronouns

4.1 Markedness

Syntactically dependent pronouns appear to be the 'unmarked' pronoun type in Zapotec; in the absence of some constraint against their use in a particular position, syntactically dependent pronouns are used in lieu of syntactically independent pronouns. In some languages the use of an independent pronoun where not required results in strong rejection by native speakers; in others, the sentence is grammatical but not typical (Butler 1976:331-2).

Although some of the literature on Zapotec refers to pronominal affixes (e.g. Briggs 1961, Robinson 1963), we follow Pickett 1960 in viewing the syntactically dependent pronominal morphemes as a special class of pronouns which is *not* inflection. For the most part, pronouns and noun phrases which are coreferential are mutually exclusive in Zapotec. Only one is used in subject position, for example, although one may appear preverbally in 'focus' position, and another postverbally in subject position. The most affix-looking pronouns, the syntactically dependent, are not limited to any one category of word for their host in any Zapotec language. And, as I show below, they are not necessarily absolutely contiguous to the head of the phrase. Thus, there are parallels between the syntax of the syntactically dependent pronouns of Zapotec and the subject (clitic) pronouns of French, since the latter are also extremely restricted in where they may occur.[6]

4.2 Adjacency to projection of head

A major constraint on the occurrence of syntactically dependent pronouns is the following:

(11) Syntactically dependent pronouns must follow a projection of the head.

The relevant notion of head is a relatively uncontroversial one. The head of the clause is the verb (at least extensionally); of the noun phrase, the noun; of the prepositional phrase, the preposition.

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In the following examples, the syntactically dependent pronoun immediately follows the head.

Subject

(11a) (Ytz)
bšeb =bo? náda?
frightened 3f me
's/he frightened me'

(11b) (Ist)
bi'ya =lu ni
saw 2s it
'you saw it'

(11c) (Ist)
bi'ya =be lí' (Pickett 1960:61)
saw 3h you
's/he saw you'

(11d) (Glv)
rjap =ni
have 1p
'we have'

(11e) (Tex)
gul bri =r
when arrived 2s
'when did you arrive?'

Possessor

(12a) (Ytz)
ʂXeid =a? (Butler 1980:193)
hen.of 1s
'my hen'

(12b) (Ist)
spere? < (spere =a?)
hen.of/1s
'my hen'

(12c) (Ist)
ike =be (Pickett 1960:37)
head 3h
'his/her head'

(12d) (C!v)
špiti'z =i (Jones and Church 1985:11)
nest it
'its nest'

(12e) (Tex)
to' =r
head 2s
'your head'

Object of Preposition

(13a) (Tex)
ni =r
of 2s
'to/of you'

(13b) (Tex) nĕ (< ni =ă)
of/1s
'to/of me'

(13c) (Ytz) če =bo? (Butler 1980:190)
of 3f
'of him/her'

Because of constraint (9), syntactically dependent pronouns cannot occur following a nonpronominal subject, as shown in (8) above; they would not be adjacent to a projection of the head.

The syntactically dependent pronoun is not necessarily *directly adjacent* to the head, for which reason constraint (9) refers to a *projection* of the head.[7] For example, the pronoun may be separated from the verb root by an adverbial element (written here as a separate word, although its status may be unclear in some cases), as in the following examples.

(14a) (Ytz) JzoX ša?o =bo' =n (Butler 1980:165)
writes well 3f 3i
's/he is writing it well'

(14b) (Ytz) Josya' di?a =bo? (Butler 1980:165)
shouts loudly 3f
's/he is shouting loudly'

(14c) (Ate) bidzina? tega'ba =tu?
arrived just.now 1pe
'we just now arrived'

(14d) (Tex) a rik^{y} ru? =r ri'ß
Quest do still 2s work
'are you still working?'

(14e) (Tex) brik le'w la =r
gave freely Emph 2s
'you gave freely'

(14f) (Xng) iže guš k^{w}a' šo me'ɕ
tomorrow will.prepare again s/he taco
's/he will make tacos again tomorrow'

Another construction in which the pronoun is separated from the head, but not a projection of the head, is when an adjective phrase intervenes between the head noun and the possessor.[8]

(15a) (Ist) špi?ku ro? =be
dog.of big 3h
'his/her big dog'

(15b) (Ist) ka špi?ku wi'ni =be ke (Pickett 1960:36)
Pl dog.of little 3h that
'those little dogs of his/hers'

(15c) (Glv) šiku bici =nu
dog.of little 2s
'your little dog'

But the constraint on adjacency has two versions in Zapotec, a strict version and a lax version. In some languages, certain syntactically dependent pronouns (in an object of verb position) may be separated from the projection of the head by a *syntactically dependent pronoun*. In other languages, such separation is not at all possible.

(16)

(Strict version) A syntactically dependent pronoun must directly follow a projection of the head.

(Lax version) A *nonthird* person syntactically dependent pronoun must directly follow a projection of the head; third person syntactically dependent pronouns may be separated from the head by other syntactically dependent pronouns.

Languages such as Isthmus Zapotec follow the strict version. Therefore syntactically dependent pronouns are disallowed completely in object of verb position, although a syntactically independent and prosodically dependent pronoun such as ni 'it' is fine there.

(16a) (Ist) * bi'ya =be =lu
saw 3h 2s
's/he saw you'

(16b) (Ist) * bi'ya =lu =be
saw 2s 3h
'you saw hiL/her'

(16c) (Ist) bi'ya =lu ni
saw 2s it
'you saw it'

Languages such as Yatzachi and Yalalag Zapotec follow the lax version. Therefore syntactically dependent third person pronouns are permitted (and hence preferred) in an object of verb position if preceded by a syntactically dependent pronoun.[9]

(17a) (Ytz) ble?i =da' =bo?
saw 1s 3f
'I saw him/her'

(17b) (Ytz) bšeb =a' =bo? (Butler 1980:171)
frightened 1s 3f
'I frightened him/her'

(17c) (Ytz) bneǯX^{W} =e' =bo' =b (Butler 1980:173)
gave 3r 3f 3a
's/he gave it to him/her'

For other languages, the distinction between the lax version and the strict version is irrelevant (due to a lack of syntactically dependent third person pronouns).

(18a) (Tex) * ka =r =ǎ
love 2s 1s
'you love me'

(18b) (Tex) ka =r yu
love 2s him
'you love him'

There are a variety of constructions where the subject NP is missing, such as questions and relative clauses. The gap (or trace, in transformational terms) in these constructions acts like a syntactically *dependent* pronoun in some Zapotec languages and like a syntactically *independent* pronoun in others, based on whether syntactically dependent pronouns may or may not occur after it.[10] Yatzachi and Yalalag, two very similar dialects, differ in this respect, with Yatzachi of the former type and Yalalag of the latter.[11] (The distinction is irrelevant in languages such as Isthmus Zapotec which follow the strict version of adjacency.) Some data which minimally illustrate these facts are given in (19). This is an area of Zapotec which, among others, requires and deserves further investigation, both for descriptive and theoretical reasons.

Questions
(19a) (Ytz) no bg^{W}ia ___ =bo?
who looked.after 3f
'who looked after him/her?'

(19b) (Ylg) * no be' =? ___ =ba?
who gave 3r 3a
'who did s/he give it to?'

Relative Clauses
(19c) (Ytz) no'lə n? [bg^{W}ia ___ =bo?]
woman that looked.after 3f
'the woman who looked after him/her'

(19d) (Ylg) * be?nn na [bazi? ___ =ba?]
person that bought 3a
'that person who bought it (animal)'

Fronted Nominal

(19e) (Ylg)

* čonn =e? g^{W}yep ___ =en
three 3r climbed 3i
'three of them climbed it'

Equi in Purpose clause

(19f) (Ytz)

jeX =e? g^{W}azX ___ =bo?
goes 3r to.bathe 3f
's/he is going (there) to bathe him/her'

(19g) (Ytz)

sa' goye ___ =b
will.go.1s to.tend 3a
'I am going (there) to tend it'

Appendix: Pronoun Inventories

Pronouns are classified as syntactically dependent (-S) or syntactically independent (+S). The latter are further divided into prosodically dependent (-P) and prosodically independent (+P) pronouns.

Isthmus Zapotec*			
	-S	+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=a'		ná'
2s	=lu		lí'
1pi	=nu		
pe	=du		
2p	=tu		
3h	=be		
3h	=ø		
3ch	=ni?		
3a	=ne		
3i		ni	

Yatzachi el Bajo Zapotec			
	-S	+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=(d)a?		náda?
2s	=(d)o?		ló?
1pi	=jo		jió'
1pe	=to?		néto?
2p	=le		lé'
3r	=e?		
3f	=bo?		
3a	=b		
3i	=n		

* The parenthesized consonants occur only with certain verbs.

Yalagag Zapotec			
	-S	+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=(l)a?		náda?
2s	=lo?		lóe
1pi	=jo		jió'
1pe	=to?		néto'
2p	=le		ló'
3r	=(l)e?		
3f	=be?		
3a	=ba?		
3i	=n		

* The parenthesized consonants occur only with certain verbs.

Texmelucan Zapotec*			
-S		+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=ã		yá
2s	=r(u)		rú
1pi		n(a)	
1pe	(de (plural) plus 1s)		
2p	(de (plural) plus 2s)		
3r		m(i)	
3m** (male speech)		y(u)	
3a		ma	
3c***		ñ(i)	

* The parenthesized vowel shown with certain pronouns is present if the pronoun follows a consonant; it is absent otherwise.

** Third person respect pronoun has the following usages in Texmelucan: third person female respect (male speech), third person respect (female speech), third person deity (male and female speech).

*** Third person "common" pronoun has the following usages in Texmelucan: third person familiar (female speech), third person familiar female (male speech), third person inanimate (male and female speech).

Atepec Zapotec			
	-S	+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=a?		inté?
2s			lú?
1pi			rí?u
1pe	=tu?		intú?
2p	=le		lebí'
3r		(n)e	
3f		bi	
3c*		(n)ã	

* The third person "common" pronoun in Atepec Zapotec is used for animals, things, and people.

** The parenthesized consonants occur when these pronouns follow 3r and 3c pronouns.

Guelavía Zapotec			
	-S	+S	
		-P	+P
1s	=(n)a?		ná?
2s	=(n)u?		liú?
1p	=n(ɨ)		dúnnɨ
2p	=t(ɨ)		
3r		ñ	
3f		b(ɨ)	
3m (male speech)		ǐ(ɨ)	
3ch		by	
3a		m(ɨ)	
3i		ni	

* The parenthesized vowels occur when these pronouns follow consonant-final words.

Xanaguía Zapotec		
-S	+S	
	-P	+P
1s	?nn	ná'
2s	?ll, a'*	lá'y
1pi	n	nó
1pe		nó'
2p		tó
3r	š(o)	
3h	ꞵ	
3ind	ma	
3a	ma	
3i	o	

* Of the two forms for second person singular, the first follows vowels, the second follows consonants. Use of a 'glottalized' -P pronoun is blocked by the presence of a 'glottalized' (non-root) morpheme (e.g. another glottalized pronoun or a glottalized affix).

NOTES

[1] For information regarding pluralization of third person pronouns, see Marlett and Pickett (1985).

An attempt has been made to standardize transcriptions of Zapotec data included here, regardless of their source. Double n (nn) and *l* (ll) represent 'fortis' sonorants; *b*, *d*, *g*, ƀ, *z*, etc. represent 'lenis' obstruents, but the phonetics of these consonants varies from language to language. The vowels in some Zapotec languages occur with a three way contrast: plain (V), checked (V?), and laryngealized (V'). I thank the following people for discussing these matters with me and for supplying the additional data necessary for this study: Charles Speck, Velma Pickett, Mary Hopkins, Julie Olive, Inez Butler, Joaquín López, Sadot Hernández, Neil and Jane Nellis, María Villalobos, and Catalina Vázquez. I also thank Tom Smith-Stark and his seminar group for their

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The following grammatical abbreviations are used: 1s (first singular), 1p (first plural), 1pi (first plural inclusive), 1pe (first plural exclusive), 2s (second singular), 2p (second plural), 3r (third respect), 3h (third human), 3f (third familiar), 3fe (third feminine), 3m (third masculine), 3ch (third child), 3a (third animal), 3i (third inanimate), 3ind (third indefinite), 3c (third common), Pl (plural), Quest (question).

Language abbreviations include: Ate (San Juan Atepec), Glv (San Juan Guelavía), Ist (Isthmus), Tex (San Lorenzo Texmelucan), Ylg (Yalalag), Ytz (San Baltazar Yatzachi el Bajo), Xng (Santa Catarina Xanaguía).

[2] For example, the idea of (2d) can be expressed as in (i), with the complex construction enclosed within brackets.

(i) [la' =be] ya?
3h Quest
'and her/him?'

I assume that this complex construction is a noun phrase, with la' as the head noun and the pronoun in possessor position. Pickett 1960:25 refers to this construction as an independent pronoun phrase. Texmelucan Zapotec is the only Zapotec language known to us at present that does not have a morpheme cognate with this. The complex construction in Texmelucan consists of the third person pronoun followed by a deictic element, such as yu se? (he there) 'that one' (male), or the first person plural inclusive person pronoun preceded by the plural morpheme and the stem for 'self': de ub na (Pl self 1pi). Other Zapotec languages have a construction similar to the demonstrative type of construction, at least etymologically, such as Isthmus nga (< ni ka, it there) 'that one' (thing).

[3] There are language-specific and construction-specific conditions on whether a 'copy' pronoun also occurs in post-verbal subject position if there is a fronted NP.

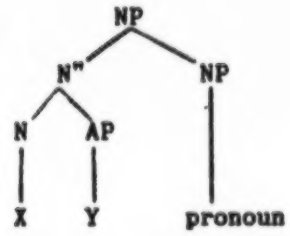
[4] That is, without a phonological host, as described in note 2.

[5] The pronouns that Pickett 1960:24-5 lists as independent pronouns are independent in this sense.

[6] See Sandfeld (1965).

[7] That is, we need to allow for situations such as diagrammed in (i) where the syntactically dependent pronoun is separated from the head of the construction.

(ii)



[8] In some languages, this situation is less simple than might be expected. For example, in Texmelucan and Atepec Zapotec, the word 'of' must precede the possessor if the possessor is separated from the head noun.

(iiia) (Ate) liɡi? lú?
home you
'your home'

(iiib) (Ate) dana to? ki? lú?
sister little of you
'your little sister'

(iiic) (Tex) šimbel^{y} yu
hat he
'his hat'

(iiid) (Tex) šimbel^{y} kas ni y
hat black of he
'his black hat'

[9] There are some restrictions on this, as Butler 1980:179 indicates. Ron Newberg (p.c.) has pointed out similar, and perhaps more severe, restrictions in Yalalag Zapotec.

[10] The subject is also missing in certain imperative constructions in Zapotec. But imperatives are different from questions and relative clauses in that the gap does not block cliticization even in Yalalag.

[11] Other dialects of this area, namely Choapan Zapotec (Larry and Rosemary Lyman, p.c.) and Rincón Zapotec (Robert Earl, p.c.), apparently behave like Yalalag Zapotec.

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